

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 IO-13 CU-04 BIB-01 CIAE-00  
DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05  
PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 EB-08 OMB-01  
TRSE-00 AGRE-00 COME-00 LAB-04 SIL-01 /096 W  
-----096453 191359Z /46

P 191035Z DEC 77

FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2258  
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMCONSUL MUNICH PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
USMISSION USNATO  
AMCONSUL KRAKOW POUCH  
AMCONSUL POZNAN POUCH

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BELGRADE FOR CSCE DEL

ROME FOR VATICAN OFFICE

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT PL

SUBJ: ROME SPEECH OF CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI EXPLAINS POLISH CHURCH  
POLICIES TOWARD REGIME

1. THE EMBASSY HAS OBTAINED FROM THE EPISCOPATE OFFICE IN  
WARSAW AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN ROME NOVEMBER 10 BY CARDINAL  
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WYSZYNSKI TO RECTORS OF FOREIGN MISSIONS OF THE POLISH CHURCH.  
IN THAT ADDRESS, THE CARDINAL DESCRIBED THE SITUATION OF THE CHURCH  
IN POLAND, SKETCHED THE ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCH TOWARDS POLISH  
SECULAR AUTHORITIES, EMPHASIZING THAT NO TREATY OR DEAL IS CON-  
TEMPLATED, AND PROJECTED AN ALTERNATIVE VISION OF THE POLISH  
SOCIETY. THE EPISCOPATE OFFICE SAID THE SPEECH WILL BE MADE  
AVAILABLE TO THE POLISH CLERGY ON MONDAY, DECEMBER 19.

2. REFERRING TO ONGOING DEBATES IN THE PARIS "KULTURA" AND OTHER POLISH EMIGRE JOURNALS ON THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN POLAND, WYSZYNSKI SAID "EVALUATION OF THE SITUATION IN POLAND FROM AFAR IS ALWAYS RISKY." ISSUES TOUCHED UPON ARE FREQUENTLY PERIPHERAL AND THE INFORMATION AVAILABLE ABROAD IS OFTEN FRAGMENTARY. ONLY ONE LIVING IN POLAND, WYSZYNSKI IMPLIED, CAN PROPERLY APPRECIATE THE SITUATION IN THAT COUNTRY. "IT IS NECESSARY TO SEE THE CHURCH IN ITS INTERNAL WORK, IN ITS SPIRITUAL ENERGIES AND STRENGTHS FROM WHICH ITS POSSIBILITIES FLOW. ONE SHOULD NOT LOOK AT THE CHURCH THROUGH THE PRISM OF THOSE OR OTHER TEMPORARY CONFUSIONS WHICH QUICKLY ARISE AND JUST AS QUICKLY SUBSIDE."

3. WYSZYNSKI SAID THE POSITION OF THE CHURCH IN POLAND MUST BE SEEN IN THE LIGHT OF ITS SPECIAL TASKS, THE CARE FOR THE SPIRITUAL WELFARE AND MORAL UPBRINGING OF THE PEOPLE. "THERE EXISTS IN POLAND A SPECIAL RECEPTIVENESS TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE CHURCH, CATHOLIC PROBLEMS, PROBLEMS OF THE HIERARCHY AND THE CLERGY. WE NOT ONLY SERVE THE PEOPLE, WE ARE 'WATCHED' BY THE PEOPLE . . . SOCIETY IS FULL OF APPREHENSION THAT THE EPISCOPATE SOMETIMES GOES TOO FAR IN ITS CONTACTS WITH THE AUTHORITIES." THE CHURCH HAS NO LOVE FOR THE SECULAR AUTHORITIES IN POLAND, WYSZYNSKI IMPLIED, BUT FROM TIME TO TIME THE OBJECTIVE SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY REQUIRES THAT IT USE ITS MORAL AUTHORITY TO CALM PASSIONS WHICH, WITHOUT THE INTERVENTION OF THE CHURCH, COULD LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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RAGE UNCHECKED TO THE DETRIMENT OF THE PEOPLE, THE NATION AS A WHOLE. "THEREFORE, FOR US THE IMPORTANT MATTER IS THE AVOIDANCE OF SMALL REVOLUTIONS IN THE COUNTRY WHICH WE CAN CALL 'OCTOBER', 'DECEMBER', AND CURRENTLY 'JUNE'. THESE SMALL REVOLUTIONS WOULD BE THREATENING IF IT WERE NOT FOR THE INSTINCT AND THE DESIRE OF THE PEOPLE FOR SELF-PRESERVATION, SUPPORTED BY SPIRITUAL CAPITAL, WHICH PROTECTS US FROM EXTREMES."

4. THE POLISH CHURCH, WYSZYNSKI SAID, DOES NOT MAKE TREATIES OR DEALS WITH THE AUTHORITIES. EVEN A NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE VATICAN AND THE GOVERNMENT CANNOT GUARANTEE THAT THE CHURCH WILL FLOURISH. "WE KNOW THAT ELSEWHERE, WHERE TREATIES BETWEEN

N THE HOLY SEE AND THE APPROPRIATE GOVERNMENTS ARE MADE, THE CHURCH IS NOT PROTECTED." THE SOURCE OF THE CHURCH'S LIFE LIES, RATHER, IN ITS INTERNAL STRENGTH, IN ITS COMMUNION WITH THE PEOPLE. DEALS WITH THE AUTHORITIES, WYSZYNSKI SAID, CAN COMPROMISE THE SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WHICH EXISTS BETWEEN THE CHURCH AND ITS FLOCK AND UNDERMINE THE MORAL BASIS UPON WHICH THIS RELATIONSHIP IS ESTABLISHED. WYSZYNSKI SAID THE CHURCH WILL NOT REJECT CONCESSIONS FROM THE GOVERNMENT ON MATTERS OF RELIGIOUS PRACTICE AND OTHER ISSUES WHICH IT HOLDS DEAR, BUT IT WILL NOT BARTER ITS

SUPPORT FOR THESE CONCESSIONS. "NATURALLY, WE WILL RECEIVE WITH GRATITUDE ONE OR ANOTHER FORM OF INSURANCE FOR THE CHURCH, BUT WE WILL CONSIDER THAT ADDITIONAL INSURANCE."

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2259  
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5. WYSZYNSKI OFFERED AN ALTERNATIVE VISION OF POLAND, ONE WHICH, HE MAINTAINED, WOULD ELIMINATE "THE SMALL REVOLUTIONS WHICH ARE BORN IN THE (WAITING) LINES . . . FOR USE THE PROBLEM IS A PIECE OF BREAD, A MORSEL OF BUTTER." WYSZYNSKI QUOTED A POLISH SAYING, "A POLE, WHEN HUNGRY, IS ANGRY," TO POINT TO THE SOURCE OF "UNCONTROLLABLE TENSION" WITHIN POLAND. IT IS ESPECIALLY IRONIC, WYSZYNSKI IMPLIED, THAT FOOD SUPPLY IS THE PRINCIPAL  
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PROBLEM, WHEN ONE CONSIDERS THAT POLAND, BY NATURAL ENDOWMENT, IS AN AGRICULTURAL COUNTRY. WYSZYNSKI CONCEDED THE IMPRESSIVE ACHIEVEMENTS MADE IN THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF POLAND, BUT ARGUED THAT THEY COST MORE THAN THEY ARE WORTH. THE FORCED INDUSTRIALIZATION OF POLAND HAS DISTORTED AND CORRUPTED POLISH SOCIETY. POOR WORKING CONDITIONS HAVE UNDERMINED INDIVIDUAL ETHICS. "AND ABOVE ALL, THE WORK ENVIRONMENT. IT IS ALMOST CAPITALISTIC, AN ENVIRONMENT OF FORCED LABOR. IT COMPELS WORKERS TO DIFFERENT FORMS OF DEFENSE, SOMETIMES UNETHICAL. THEY ARE, FOR EXAMPLE, THE SIT-IN STRIKE, WORK SLOWDOWNS, ABSENTEEISM, UNSELLABLE GOODS, BRIBERY, THEFT."

6. WYSZYNSKI SUGGESTED THAT A TURN FROM THIS UNNATURAL INDUSTRIALIZATION COULD ELIMINATE THESE UNFORTUNATE MANIFESTATIONS OF DISCONTENT: "WE CANNOT FORGET THAT POLAND IS PRIMARILY AN AGRICULTURAL COUNTRY. POLAND CAN BE A BASE OF THE FOOD INDUSTRY WHICH WOULD BE OF ENORMOUS SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE PROBLEM OF BREAD IN EUROPE AND MANY PARTS OF THE WORLD. IF POLAND BUILT UP ITS AGRICULTURAL SECTOR, IT COULD MANAGE WITHOUT LARGE FOREIGN LOANS. IT COULD BECOME "EGYPT" FOR THE SCANDINAVIAN, BALTIC COUNTRIES, EVEN FOR WESTERN EUROPE, AND ALSO FOR EAST GERMANY AND THE BALKAN COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS WORSE THAN OURS." ACCORDING TO WYSZYNSKI'S VISION, POLAND, AS THE BREADBASKET OF EUROPE, WOULD SATISFY NOT ONLY ITS OWN NEEDS, BUT ALL THE FOOD REQUIREMENTS OF ITS NEIGHBORS.

7. COMMENT: WYSZYNSKI'S SPEECH REPRESENTS AN EFFORT TO CLARIFY TO POLES ABROAD WHY HE MET WITH GIEREK TWO WEEKS EARLIER AND THE RELATIONSHIP REFLECTED IN THAT MEETING. ITS RELEASE TO THE POLISH CLERGY AT THIS TIME PROBABLE IS AN ATTEMPT TO ANSWER QUESTIONS WHICH HAVE ARISEN ABOUT THE SEEMINGLY WARMER RELATIONS BETWEEN THE POLISH CHURCH AND STATE, MANIFESTED BOTH IN THE WYSZYNSKI-

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GIEREK MEETING AND, OF COURSE, IN THE FIRST SECRETARY'S AUDIENCE WITH THE POPE AND THE STATEMENTS EXCHANGED ON THAT OCCASION. WARSAW DIPLOMATIC SOURCES, USUALLY WELL INFORMED ON POLISH CHURCH AFFAIRS, SAY THAT ANOTHER ATTEMPTED CORRECTIVE WAS THE COUNTRYWIDE READING OF A PASTORAL LETTER, CONDEMNATORY OF THE GOVERNMENT'S MORAL INFLUENCE ON POLISH YOUTH, ON THE SUNDAY FOLLOWING GIEREK'S PAPAL AUDIENCE. ACCORDING TO THESE SOURCES, THE LETTER HAD BEEN WRITTEN SOME MONTHS EARLIER AND THE TIMING OF ITS RELEASE WAS A CALCULATED POLITICAL GESTURE.

END COMMENT.

8. COPIES OF THE PRIMATE'S SPEECH ARE BEING SENT TO EUR/EE,  
KRAKOW, AND POZNAN.  
DAVIES

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## Message Attributes

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**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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